

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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## FIRST NATIONAL CAMPAIGN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Plant High the Banner of Social  
Democracy and March Forward  
to Victory This Year

### CONDITIONS TO CONFRONT

A Change from One Capitalist Party to  
Another is Not a Change of Play,  
But Only of Players

History repeats itself; again four years have rolled by and we, the citizens of the United States, are once more confronted with a presidential campaign. The professional politicians of both old parties organize their forces, manufacture issues, work out platforms, shape party pledges, give birth to campaign catchwords, flood the country with "educational" campaign literature and oral eloquence, denounce violently their opponents and profess their great love and admiration for the dear (Oh, how dear!) common people. The thoughtless crowd, the cattle of the ballot box, shout and whoop and sell their rights of primogeniture for a mess of nasty pottage, to either one or the other of the old parties. After the campaign is over there may be some change in the personal constituency of the actors on the political arena, some shifting and readjustment of the stage decorations. The play enacted, however, will remain ever the same—the exploitation of the unorganized many by the organized few, the merciless exploitation of the weak by the strong, the honest and simple-minded by the crafty and unscrupulous.

Did I say ever? No—not forever, but as long as any of the old parties, immaterial which, will be in power. And that cannot last very long. The middle class parties have no vital principles to incorporate and a political party without vital principles is like a body without a soul.

The dense ignorance and criminal good-nature of the people may for a short while allow the old parties to preserve the outward appearance of life. The mone-tel-upharsin of the old parties is, however, written with fiery letters on the walls of the modern Beshazzars of Commercialism and Capitalism.

The Social Democratic Party is starting its first national campaign under the brightest auspices. There is a demand, a pressing need for a great, honest third, national political party, a party which will unite all enlightened, public-spirited men who are opposed to our present commercial and capitalistic system and its corollaries: the management of national affairs by the hirelings of the capitalistic and commercial classes in the interests of these classes solely, and to the detriment of all the rest of the people, of toiling humanity without distinction of class.

The strength of the capitalistic parties in our days is not in that class itself, but in the ignorance and indolence of the people in general and especially in the utter demoralization of the capitalistic mobs.

By the term capitalistic mob we mean the thoughtless crowd of people who—far from being capitalists themselves and from having a ghost of a show to become capitalists—are always ready to back up the institution of commercialism and capitalism out of sheer stupidity and despicable success worship. The power of the pro-slavery party of the South, just before the abolition, consisted likewise in the slavish trend of mind of the thoughtless crowd of retainers who could never afford to own a slave themselves. This ignorance, this indolence and demoralization were the most formidable enemies of party for abolition of black slavery.

And the same ignorance, indolence and demoralization are most formidable enemies of the Social Democratic Party, the party that undertakes the task of abolishing the slavery of the white wage workers.

The surest way to victory for the Social Democratic party is by public enlightenment, and the best means are agitation and propaganda.

Let us shake up the torpor of the masses; let us mold and shape public opinion according to the national and moral principles of Social Democracy; let us direct public sentiment toward the right channel in favor of the disinherited and down-trodden, but most worthy part of humanity, the toiling classes; let us arouse public consciousness to the absurdities and wrongs of our present social and economic system; let us appeal to the highest and noblest instincts of human nature; let us point out the inherent solidarity of the interests of the human race and the futility of all class distinctions; let us rise to the level

of the aspirations of the greatest leaders of humanity and the victory will be won.

The Social Democratic party enters into its first national campaign with no sordid aims and purposes of office-hunting or self-aggrandizement. The party leader (are there any? It seems to me that every member of the Social Democratic party is a leader) have no personal ambitions, except the ambition of a great inspiring cause.

The Social Democratic party is fully aware that the presidential election is the axis around which all the political corruption of the country moves. It considers the office of the president in its present shape a menace to the freedom of the people and is certainly opposed to the present system of election by proxy. It detests all the tactics of the old parties. It uses the presidential campaign as an excellent opportunity for missionary work. It has to fight the old parties with their own weapons on their own ground.

The Social Democratic party has to open the eyes of the people to the evils of our present public institutions; to unmask fools, who parade as sages; rogues, pretending to be models of honesty; charlatans, who pretend to be eminent specialists; show the hideous feature of salaried back-yard politicians posing as public servants, to show the difference between the purposeless bunning of superfluous officeholders and earnest work in the interest of the community, it has to lift the curtain of many a snug corner of our administration, honey-combed with corruption.

The Social Democratic party has a great deal to do in that line of work. At the same time, however, it has to keep before the eyes of the people the great principles and ideals it represents. The destructive and constructive work of the party must go on at the same time.

Let us plant our banner high and keep it pure from all the pollution of political compromises and trickery.

A clean work needs clean hands.

Great principles and lofty ideas demand a great and lofty man as their representative. Such a man is the presidential candidate of the Social Democratic party—Eugene V. Debs.

A truer heart and purer mind, a more sincere friend of toiling humanity has not been born on earth in our country and century.

Let us, then, all do our very best in order to insure as many votes for him as we possibly can. Every vote cast for Debs means a vote for the improvement of the prospects of our own nation; means a vote for a better, nobler, more human life; a vote for a better future for the coming generation.

### A FABLE

There was once a burglar who broke into the residence of a Doctor of Divinity, with the purpose of benevolently assimilating sundry valuable articles possessed by the reverend gentlemen. While the burglar was engaged in this task, he was surprised by the clergyman, whom he at once covered with a revolver to prevent him from making an outcry.

The pious man resolved to appeal to the burglar's conscience, and exhorted him to refrain from the intended robbery, telling him that if he persisted in his evil ways, he would lose his precious soul. "That would have been true," replied the burglar, "had you preached it to me before I pried open your window; but now that I have commenced the theft, these moral questions have nothing to do with the case."

The clergyman was greatly shocked at this reply, and the lack of morality which it indicated. "My dear brother," he said, "do you not know that it is always wrong to commit a crime? Repent while there is yet time. While the lamp holds out to burn the vilest sinner may return."

The burglar shook his head. "A year ago," he said, "your appeal might have moved me to repentance. But it is now too late."

"Oh, sinful man," cried the D. D., "what horrid crime have you committed that your conscience is so dulled?"

"This is my first offence," replied the burglar. "But last Sunday I heard you preach a sermon about 'Our Duty in the Transvaal.' I then learnt from your holy lips that when crime was once begun, it was the duty of every patriotic citizen to assist in completing it. As I am nothing if not patriotic, I will thank you to help me pack your silverware in my bag. Otherwise I will be compelled by manifest destiny to fill you full of lead."—Justice.

That man is blest  
Who does his best  
And leaves the rest;  
Then, do not worry.

At present 11,000 people in Liverpool are living in 3,288 cellars, independent of 6,532 cellars under houses. Sixty-five cellar dwellings were closed last year, and during the past ten years 981 of them have been closed to human habitation.

## JACK POTTS' OBSERVATIONS ON THINGS AND PERSONS

Brother Passmore is Heard From  
Again—Is After the Bishops  
Who Get Rich

### INTERESTING TO WORKINGMEN

Servile Tools of Mammon Flayed by a Man  
of Courage and Convictions—Workers  
Arouse to Call of Duty

Mr. Workingman, here is what Matthew Arnold, one of England's greatest literary men, said a few years ago: "Ask yourself if you do not sometimes feel in yourselves a sense that, in spite of the strenuous efforts for good of so many excellent persons amongst us, we begin somehow to flounder and to beat the air; that we seem to be finding ourselves stopped on this line of advance and on that, and to be threatened with a sort of standstill. It is that we are trying to live on with a social organization of which the day is over." That is just what the Socialist has been telling you all these years!

Hear what General Booth of the Salvation Army has to say: "I am quite satisfied that these multitudes, these starving, hungry crowds, will not be saved in their present circumstances. All the clergymen, tract distributors, sick visitors and every one else who cares about the salvation of the poor must make up their minds to that. The poor must be helped out of their present social miseries." Certainly no one can accuse General Booth of being one of "those terrible Socialists!"

The great Standard Oil university, the University of Chicago, will have a Russian chair. Certain Polish citizens object, declaring that the Polish language is far superior to that of the Muscovite, while the literature of Poland is incomparably finer than that of Russia. The Chicago Daily News of July 11 says concerning this matter: "The Pole was a man of refinement, culture and advancement when the Russian was still a fierce semi-barbarian of half-Asiatic mold. It is only natural that the Polish language should be richer, that the Polish literature should far surpass that of the conquering Slav." But the News urges that there are other reasons not literary or intellectual for a preference for Russian; and what do you suppose those reasons are? Why, "the great and growing bond of commerce between Russia and America." No matter in what direction you go, you bump against the Commercial Instinct. In fact that same Commercial Instinct is the greatest obstruction today in the path of the world's progress, and it must be removed. The press of the United States—yes, and of the world—knows this, but it is handcuffed and don't dare tell the truth; truth-telling might curtail the advertising! You must depend on the reform portion of the press, and especially Socialist publications, for the truth. The latter are edited and supported by poor men and are not conducted for "what there is in it." Everything these days is subservient to the Commercial Instinct. Preachers and educators bow to it. That's why the workingman don't hustle out to church!

"Rev. Mr. Passmore Wields a Meat Ax on the Methodist Bishops," is the heading of a salty five-column article in the Denver Sunday Post of June 24 by Rev. F. F. Passmore, who was fired from the church because he is a Socialist. It shows that the dear Methodist Episcopal brethren are keenly alive to the Commercial Instinct! Mr. Passmore says that the keynote of the conference was sounded when General Rushing (appropriate name!) published in the Daily Christian Advocate that "One of the crying needs of the Methodist church today is more millionaires and multi-millionaires." Bishop Joyce prayed: "Lord bless our men of wealth," but he didn't pray for the widows, orphans and toiling millions. Probably the bishop had in mind that cynical saying, "God bless the rich; the poor can hustle." According to Mr. Passmore a bishop's job is a "snap" and bishops are thrifty: "In a world where there are so many people needy, in want, suffering, and starving no man can be a rich man and a Christian. The old prophets were not rich men; Christ was not a rich man; the apostles were not rich men. No, these men were not rich men, neither did they uphold the saloons, slavery, gambling and oppressors. But Bishop Ames died worth \$400,000; Bishop Simpson died worth \$100,000; Bishop Peck died worth a good fortune; Bishop Newman died worth \$50,000. These men were rich, for they stood by the slaveholders and other rich oppressors."

Mr. Passmore thinks the church had

the opportunity of the ages at this conference, but it chose the evil side, and "Ichabod is now written over the doors of her churches, colleges and universities," which translated means that the church's name is "Dennis." He says the rules of the church forbid its members to rent premises for liquor houses or to drink liquor; yet when McKinley, who is a member of the church, visited the conference in 1896 the assemblage rose to its feet in a huge demonstration of its joyous approval, notwithstanding the fact that at that very time he had property in Canton rented for saloon purposes.

Mr. Passmore goes on to say that "I once had great respect for the bishops, elders and ministers in general, for I thought that they were true and courageous men of lofty souls who had risen to the sublime heights of unselfishness, and were what they professed to be; but after I joined the conference I met them in many places, and under different conditions when I found that they were false men, living two lives; wolves in sheep's clothing, hypocrites; I found them as Christ said of the hypocrites of His day: 'This people draweth nigh unto Me with their mouth, and honor Me with their lips; but their heart is far from Me.' It is sad to think that our bishops and the leading preachers of the church are living for the fine linen, purple and broadcloth that they can wear, and the best cuts of beefsteak they can eat. They live and move and have their being on no higher plane than the common worldling, politician and saloon man."

Well, they chose to worship Mammon rather than God, and "Verily they have their reward," Jesus said.

I have no quarrel with true religion, and I revere the names of Jesus and Buddha. But the baseball bat is kept for "churchianity"—sectarianism.

A sergeant of the United States army just back from the Philippines says that the natives are "too lazy to work." Well, just wait until the white man gets his infamous industrial burden adjusted to their backs; then they will be mighty glad to hustle perennially for a bare existence!

"Corporations have no souls." Neither do most of their managers, apparently; but they do have intestines!

A man is "class-conscious" when he recognizes the great fact that there are just two classes of people—non-owners and owners. The latter already possess 83 per cent of the wealth, and they have both feet in the trough after the remaining 17 per cent!

Mr. Workingman, open the windows of your soul and let the fresh air of industrial freedom in!

JACK POTTS.

### NO WORKINGMAN SHOULD MARRY

"No workingman should marry or aspire to be the head of a family of children."

This statement was made by a capitalist in Chicago, when, in the pending labor troubles there, a body of workingmen represented to him that their wives and children are suffering for the necessities of life.

The words of the capitalists have been heralded over the country as sensational. Yet the declaration they convey is as matter-of-fact as the wages paid labor.

The tendency is always to pay a man just enough to keep him working. And this does not include his family. Wages are fixed by the necessities of single men. The percentage of single men at work is always greater than the percentage of married men. Statistics show this. If one of the latter refuse to work on what the former can live—very well; let him go. There is a single man to take his place and glad to get it. So competition tends to keep down wages to the cost of the single man's living. Here is where women acquire a natural personal interest in the wage question. If a workingman marries you, poor girl, business takes no heed of the fact that it costs more for two to live than one. When the baby comes, business, absolutely indifferent to the fact, does not raise your husband's wages. What business does in effect is to say to man: "Here are your wages. We pay for what we get out of you. That's business. The rest is your own affair. Be reasonable and live alone. Take a wife, pinch, squirm, struggle, fall. It's all the same so long as your pick ax falls regularly, so long as you have breath enough and heart enough to work."

Thus wages embody the plain everyday doctrine of wealth concerning the wisdom of marriage among toilers. In the war of capital against labor a natural right of woman is assailed—her right to be a happy wife and mother.—American Musician.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

## REVIEW AND EXPOSURE OF CAPITALIST WAGE SYSTEM

A Subject of Deep Interest to Every  
Wage-Worker in the Land  
Read and Consider

### WAGES NOT PRICE OF LABOR

The Purpose of Capitalists is to Have Capital  
Return to Them as Money  
in Greater Magnitude

By Gabriel Deville.

Wages appear to be the price of the labor performed, but this is merely an appearance, as can easily be seen. Wages can in fact only be less than or equal to this price. If the labor performed was worth, let us say, \$2, and if the workman received less than \$2, we would reach the absurd conclusion that labor worth \$2 is worth less than \$2. If, the labor being worth \$2, the laborer gets \$2, what interest would the capitalist have in carrying on such operations? You see, that in any event wages can not be the price of the labor performed. What are they, then?

You ask yourselves how it can be that money, functioning as capital, breeds more money and yield to its proprietor a greater sum than that which he had advanced. Here we have the essential point, and therefore it is this: which I am going to explain to you first of all. The movement of capital in the process of bringing forth surplus value; that is to say, a value over and above its own value, is divided into three periods.

In the first period the capitalist appears as a purchaser on the commodity (or goods) market and on the labor market. His money is converted into goods, warships, raw material and machinery, in a word, into means of production, and into labor power; that is to say, he buys the things and the people which are the elements of production.

In the second period, the capitalist functions as a producer of commodities, and this production produces objects intended for sale.

In the third period, the capitalist becomes a seller of the commodities produced. The purpose that the capitalist keeps ever in view is that his capital, leaving his hands as a sum of money of a given magnitude, shall return to him as a sum of money greater in magnitude. The money is not in his mind expended, but advanced in order that it may grow larger.

When, in the first period, the capitalist buys the means of production and the labor power, there is an exchange. Can the exchange be the source of surplus value? Let us look into this.

If a man who has plenty of wheat, but who needs money and has it not, trades with another who has plenty of money, but is in want of wheat, a value of \$100 in wheat for \$100 in money, from the point of view of utility there is in this transaction an advantage for both of them. The exchange in this respect, is a transaction by which each party gains. But, from the point of view of wealth, the exchange of \$100 in wheat for \$100 in money is an increase of value for neither of the parties, since each of them was in possession, before the exchange, of a value equal to that which he had afterward. The same amount of value remains constantly in the hands of the same party; only he holds it successively under different forms. In the same way, when we exchange a \$20 bank note for four \$5 gold pieces, it may serve our convenience better, but there is no change in the quantity of value.

Of course certain capitalists may cheat those who trade with them; they may, in the first period buy for less than they are worth the things and the persons they require in order to produce, and they may, in the third, sell their products at a price above their value. Yet, if there is there, as you will shortly see, a displacement of values to the profit of individuals, there is no creation of value; there is no surplus value.

Suppose that Peter is very shrewd and has few scruples, and that he succeeds in cheating Paul and James. Peter buys from Paul coloring material which he needs for his dye-house, and pays \$80 for materials which are worth \$100; there is a profit of \$20 for the first period. In the third, which is the period of the sale of the products, he sells to James for \$120 dyed fabrics which are worth \$100; here is a second profit of \$20. That in this way Peter makes a profit of \$40, there can be no doubt; but let us not look at the thing solely from the point of view of Peter, let us also look at it from a general point of view.

Before these transactions we had \$80 in money in the hands of Peter, \$10 in coloring materials in the hands of Paul and \$120 in money in the hands of James, making a total of \$300. After the operations of Peter, we have \$120 in

(Continued on Fourth page)



## Social Democratic Herald

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board  
FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman  
SEYMOUR STEPMAN, Secretary  
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER  
CORINNE S. BROWN

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A. S. EDWARDS, Editor  
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.  
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108 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 109 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1900.

### DEBS STANDS TO THE END

A week ago reference was made in these columns to a press dispatch sent out from Chicago to the effect that about Oct. 1 Eugene V. Debs, candidate of the Social Democratic party for president, would withdraw in favor of the Democratic party and W. J. Bryan. It hardly seemed necessary to say that this report was a miserable falsehood, without a shadow of truth to sustain it. Because it is false, and on that account serves the dishonest purposes of capitalist politicians and pressmen of both the old parties, it has been given great prominence during the week and persistently written about as if it were true. We may, therefore, with propriety, again characterize this Democratic canard as it deserves. It reveals the design of the capitalist press and is an index of its program. Up to this time we have been blotted out of the press, the policy being to utterly ignore us. But the Social Democratic party is so persistently in evidence in every quarter that it cannot be ignored; hence, the party and its candidate must be lied about so as to mislead and demoralize its adherents, and herein is the animus of the Chicago story, which, upon the face of it, is too absurd to merit serious treatment.

As a Socialist and the candidate of the Social Democratic party, Eugene V. Debs stands opposed to all capitalist parties. Socialists and all in sympathy with them who will this year cast their first ballot for Socialism, may rest assured that Comrade Debs is in this contest until it closes, and if the working class is true to itself in the approaching election and those who toil for a mere wage dribble consider their best interests, every solitary one of them will cut loose from all the old parties and give their support to the party that stands for Socialism, that is to say, the abolition of the wage system and inauguration of economic freedom.

The Democratic party is not opposed to the capitalist competitive system. There is not a word in its platform against wage slavery. In no essential particular does it differ from the Republican party, and no wage worker ought to be deceived by its wordy and meaningless declarations. The vital, commanding issues of the hour, all growing out of capitalist production and never to be solved except by the adoption of Socialism, are studiously obscured and the platform adopted with so much noise at Kansas City is entirely satisfactory to Croker and his crew of trust-smashing patriots.

The Social Democratic party is equally opposed to all capitalist parties. Impartial in its opposition, it can have no choice. It has none.

Four years ago Eugene V. Debs supported Bryan and the Democratic party. After the election a number of the leaders met at Chicago and among other things it was agreed that "Debs and his ilk were largely responsible for Bryan's defeat and such Socialists, anarchists, etc., must be read out of the party and gotten rid of, or the respectable elements will be driven out of it."

These same gentlemen are today smilingly and whisperingly assuring Socialists that the Democratic party is "strongly Socialistic" and will surely "accomplish the Socialist's desire." They have forgotten that "Debs and his ilk" were largely "responsible for Bryan's defeat" four years ago, as they then declared, and would now have the voters believe that "about Oct. 1 Debs will withdraw in favor of Bryan." The fact is, and the working class of this country should know it by this time, the Democratic leaders will declare for anything, promise anything, and manufacture false reports to catch voters and capture the spoils of office. It is impossible for them to understand that a man can stand immovable for a principle and hold in lofty scorn and contempt the entire bribing power of plutocracy.

There will be no withdrawal and no retreat will be sounded by the party. From every section of the country come assurances of enthusiastic support, and we are within the bounds of modest statement when we say that November will bring a revelation to capitalism and its subservient parties.

### AN IMPRESSIVE CEREMONY

In the beautiful cemetery for pet animals and birds at Dellwood-on-the-Hudson a big brown and white collie dog, for many years the pampered pet of Mrs. John T. Stephens of New York, was buried a few days ago. A marble headstone bearing the collie's name and age stands above his grave.

When the pet died the grief of his friends was very great. He was placed in a casket lined with white satin and friends placed flowers on his coffin.

Many of them shed tears over the body of the pet. The casket was hidden beneath flowers, and beside it his mate, another big brown and white collie, sat and mournfully howled.

In one of those cemeteries of the living, where the poor outcasts of humanity swarm in Chicago, the home of millionaires and churches, a poor and aged woman, too feeble to help herself and too proud to beg, was found by the police in a dying state. She had not tasted food for two days, her haggard face and emaciated form bore evidence to the terrible suffering she had endured. She died. No marble headstone marks the resting place of this American mother. She was laid in no coffin lined with delicate fabrics. No friends were there to place flowers upon her grave—only a stranger did that. This homeless woman, crushed and heart-broken by the relentless operations of an inhuman system, died unwept with none to do reverence to her womanly sacrifice and service in a world for two thousand years under the "benign influences of the Christian religion."

Lena Berker, eleven years old, left her home last week in Chicago to search for somebody to buy her services for a living wage. Her efforts were unsuccessful, nobody wanted her. Discouraged and sick, she slept in doorways and picked her meals from alleys until a policeman found her half starved last Sunday night, when prayers were being said in a thousand city churches. Next morning the system we live under did the best it could, sent her to one of its institutions with other outcasts.

And down in North Carolina thousands of children are being worked in the mills without education and worked from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening for 10 cents a night! Human flesh is cheap, but pet collies come high.

None wept over the grave of our unknown mother. The dead collie's mate sat by the casket and mournfully howled!

### THE VACANT CHAIR

Observation discloses the fact that in the offices about town are many vacant chairs, until lately occupied by typewriters, clerks, etc., and that the employers themselves are doing what little work needs attention. This state of affairs is an index to the future; work is slackening up; jobs are hard to get and easy to lose. The vacant chairs will soon be dust covered.

But the clerk, stenographer and typewriter will have plenty of company, for there are vacant places at the bench and the lathe, and in shop, mill and factory the toiling masses begin to realize the emptiness of the prosperity babble and the uncertainty of their days under capitalist employment. The call of the hour upon Social Democrats is imperative. The duty is to push the propaganda for Socialism now and to save the wage working class from the folly of supporting with their votes either Bryanism or McKinleyism—both of which, when correctly interpreted, mean Capitalism.

### NOTES AND COMMENT

Jerry Simpson will soon be left alone with his real friends, the Bryan Democrats. Every prominent populist with conscience and intelligence is coming into the Social Democratic party. Seattle, take notice! The latest arrival is Ex-Governor L. D. Lewellyn of Kansas.

Mr. Pitts, of the Commercial Travelers' Association, thinks the traveling men will this year vote the Bryan ticket from the standpoint of self-preservation. Some of them will, but we know a large number who will do the more sensible thing, from the standpoint of protecting themselves and their families, vote the Social Democratic ticket.

Let us see: If United States senators were elected by popular vote, how would that improve the condition of the fellows who work for a dollar a day? Perhaps Mr. Bryan will tell us on Labor day. Or, if the corporations are to be protected "in their legitimate interests," what effect will that have on the fellows who work for corporations at a dollar a day? What real issues does the Democratic party face, anyhow?

If the average wage increased from \$248 in 1850 to \$400 in 1890, the workingman is better off, isn't he? Wait a minute! The wealth per capita of the working class in 1850 was \$239.50, but in 1890 it was only \$184. But the wealth per capita of the parasite class went up

from \$1,293 to \$8,085. So, you see, the workingman gets only enough to keep him alive today; what is called a "rise in wages" is really a decline, when measured by the increased production, because, you know, all wealth is produced by labor and the producing power of the nation increased fivefold from 1850 to 1890. Have you anywhere heard of workmen receiving a fivefold increase of wages?

Chauncey Depew has made the discovery that this great American nation produces \$2,000,000,000 worth more than it can consume. But he has not yet learned what Socialists have, that this surplus represents a part of the values stolen from the wealth producing class by the Capitalist system, that the reason the surplus exists is that workmen are so poorly paid they can't buy back what they produce.

The Republican national committee sent out in 1896, for the purpose of deluding workmen into voting for McKinley, 130 carloads of literature. The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party, now organized, would like to send out one full carload this year as an antidote to Republican (and Democratic) rubbish. One full carload would do the trick. Contributions may be sent to Campaign Committee, S. D. P., 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

An advertisement in the New York Herald for a young lady to do clerical work, at a salary of \$3.50 per week, brought over 500 replies. Another advertisement in the same newspaper, for a woman able and willing to do housework, and who would like a home where she would be treated according to the Golden Rule, received only one reply, and that was from a wealthy old lady who evidently got into the wrong column, for she begged an interview, offered to give references, and promised the advertiser a good home and the most considerate treatment!

### SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE DISTINGUISHED ENDORSEMENT

John Brisben Walker has an article in the July Cosmopolitan, on "The Trusts and the End," which raises the question why he is not supporting the Social Democratic party and lending the influence of his magazine to the advocacy of its principles. If Mr. Walker believes in the socialization of the trusts and a democratic administration of industry for the benefit of all the people, he is a Social Democrat. He says:

"No well-informed man in the business world of today, but believes that with two or three hundred millions at his disposal, a brain as able as some of those now in active careers may in turn attack and crush one leading business interest after another until even the millionaires may be swept from the field and practically all the wealth of the country concentrated in one great corporation."

Mr. Walker further says: "First—The trusts are in the direction of organization of the methods of production."

Second—Nearly all the benefits of these magnificent organizations now go to a few individuals.

Third—It is contrary to the best interests of the public and dangerous to a republican form of government that these profits should continue to accumulate in such percentages.

Fourth—How are we going to bring the benefits of scientific organization into the hands of the many instead of the few?

He declares that there is only one remedy—and that is the remedy proposed by Social Democrats. His concluding words are as follows:

"Here we are, then. Eighty millions of people under a form of government, which may be denominated a republic tempered by the use of money at the polls, up against the question of the distribution of wealth. Let it go on upon present lines and in ten years more not all the intelligence of the nation can provide a remedy. And is there any remedy today? One only—government ownership. . . . I challenge any reasoning mind taking up this subject without regard to past prejudices to arrive at any other goal than public ownership. . . . Let us brace up and look the situation fully in the face. Either it must continue, and it is every moment growing more like an avalanche, or it must end in public ownership."

### NOMINATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD

The following nominations have been received for the new National Executive Board:

By Branch 4, Illinois.—Seymour Stepmann, Frank Roderus, Mrs. Corinne Brown, W. C. Horgan, J. H. Greer, Illinois; V. L. Berger, Wisconsin; Margaret Haile, Massachusetts; J. W. Kelley, Indiana; A. W. Ricker, Iowa.

By Branch 1, Illinois.—Mrs. Corinne Brown, Seymour Stepmann, J. H. Greer, Frank Roderus, Jacob Winnen, Illinois; V. L. Berger, Wisconsin; Margaret Haile, Massachusetts; J. W. Kelley, Indiana; A. W. Ricker, Iowa.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

### THE FARMER AND HIS HORSE

A Fable by Madison Warder

A certain farmer had a horse, which was very unruly. The name of the horse was Trust. It was all the time breaking into the farmer's corn field, eating all it could, and destroying much. The farmer was sore, perplexed, and could not think of a plan to stop the ravages of the horse—he let the animal run free.

At last he took counsel with the wise men of the land to determine what should be done. These had many and varied suggestions to offer, and each thought his plan could control the beast.

Said a Governor: "The remedy lies in Publicity. The horse should be required to make regular statements of his capitalization—that is, of the capacity of his stomach; and of his profits—that is, of the corn he eats. Then if his capacity is overestimated, and he eats too much, other horses will come and compete with him. He, therefore, cannot monopolize the field."

But the farmer was slow to believe. Said a Presidential candidate:

"I have here a little bell, called License, which I will hang around his neck; and we will require him to promise before he goes into the field that he will not eat too much corn. If he breaks his promise, we will take off the bell, and encourage other horses to compete with him."

But the farmer had his doubts. Said the President of a College:

"What he needs is Social Ostracism. Drop his acquaintance. Give him the cold shoulder when you meet him. Don't invite him to your barn to partake of your hospitality. That will in time cure him of his greedy propensities."

The farmer was incredulous. Said a Supreme Court Judge:

"You cannot molest him. He is exercising his constitutional prerogatives. You cannot infringe upon his vested rights."

The farmer despaired. Said a New-idea Socialist:

"Let us catch him and put upon his back the harness of Public Ownership. Then we will set him to raising more corn."

But the others cried: "Visionary! Crank! Anarchist! You are crazy! You would overthrow society!" And they heaped much ridicule upon him. Yet the farmer began to think.

### UTOPIA, OR THE IDEAL STATE

The stress of life as we know it in our selfish community, is so great for all of us that one has a longing for existence without worry and with means for the enjoyment of life. But the condition that would satisfy some would fail to meet the approval of others. Is there any way to change the present condition of life, from our present selfishness? Probably not. Can any one hundred persons agree upon an ideal that would be acceptable tomorrow, or any time afterwards?

Not long ago an able man said: "We are going charity mad and our sympathy for misfortunes is making more beggars." The intention of those who give charity is, in most cases, to do good, with the idea of moving the world on in the direction of Utopia, an ideal state, where there is no misery or want. This idea is a noble one, but will not accomplish the purpose under our selfish system. Agreeable employment with equitable distribution will sooner do it.

Are there not men today who tell us of the great, good and wise men of a hundred years ago? Who gave us examples of unselfishness, modesty, truth and integrity, in poor comparison with men now living? There are men living now who are equally as good in morals, as were our ancestors, but are now in the minority, therefore have not the influence to counteract the motives of selfishness as formerly, the great cause of undermining all the other virtues of civilization.

Suppose that a hundred years ago some prophet had predicted that in the beginning of the twentieth century we could travel with safety and comfort 500 miles in a day and night on land, and nearly the same on the ocean to other countries; receiving news of important happenings from most any part of the world in one day; that the heating, cooking and lighting in houses would be done without fire; houses built twenty stories high and no climbing of stairs required; machines built that could talk and sing perhaps better than some men or women; that the coming of storms and cold would be known in advance; that the human body could be made transparent to see broken bones, diseased tissue and other substances; that pain would be prevented in operating on an arm, leg, eye or any part of the body; in fact all varieties of inventions introduced in that time.

If any one had suspected then that such discoveries and conveniences could be brought to such perfection as they are, the people then would have wished to live and see it and enjoy the ideal state; yet we who live and have them all consider them as necessary to life as air and water, and appear sometimes to be no nearer the ideal state than our ancestors were. This selfishness on our part is the stumbling block toward the ideal state; if that were done away with, the ideal state would be close at hand. Mere knowledge is not the ideal con-

dition. Utopia is the perfected character. This will make a perfected society with ideal environments.

History teaches us that for hundreds of years in Europe, and nearly a hundred years in this country has been a continual effort to improve the condition of the people by laws, regulation, freedom here, suppression there, to organize into an ideal state. Yet who dares to express an honest conviction in Europe on any important matter? The slightest disturbance is liable to bring on a continental war.

In each presidential election in this country the same state of affairs exists, and why? Each nation wants the whole world for a market for its surplus products. Where there is no demand for work there is not much to eat. Utopia is that condition where one can do most for others, where the pleasure comes from active and sympathetic interest for the comfort and well being of those not so fortunate as others. Any other ideal is scarcely worth striving for.

H. H. MEYER.

### Comrade Ricker at Work

Mr. A. W. Ricker, of Lone Tree, Ia., state organizer for the Social Democratic party, has been in the city since Monday night arranging for the state convention of Iowa Socialists, which is to be held here on Friday, August 10. Exclusive of the old S. L. P., which has been organized in this state for four years, and is amalgamated with the movement, the Social Democracy has active organizations in nearly all counties east of Des Moines, all the work of less than two months. Among those who are known throughout the state and are connected with the movement, may be mentioned Prof. Geo. D. Herron, of Grinnell, now traveling in Europe, but who will return for the campaign; Hon. Chas. A. Lloyd, people party candidate for governor three years ago, Rev. Chas. E. Brecken, of Muscatine, prominently identified with the state federation of labor, John L. Rice of Monroe county, of the mine workers, J. B. Welzenbach, of Davenport, of the S. L. P., and a host of union leaders of more or less local renown in their own cities. —Oskaloosa (Ia.) Herald.

### A Bricklayer for Governor

The Salt Lake Tribune says of Comrade Martin Wright, Social Democratic candidate for governor of Utah: "The nominee of the Social Democratic party for governor of Utah, was born in the city of Providence, R. I., July 1, 1849, of Yankee and English parentage. By trade he is a bricklayer of the trades union kind, of the international and local type. He came to Utah in the spring of 1876; has resided here in Utah since that time."

"He has resided in Mt. Pleasant seventeen years, and lost his first wife here nine years ago."

"Mr. Wright is a good citizen and a hard working man, and a man who, when once convinced he is on the right track, puts forth every effort to do what he considers his duty. While Mr. Wright fully realizes he stands no show of election, he says his interest in the cause is as sincere as any man's could be."

### INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

The strike of London dockers still continues, but, Justice says, there appears little likelihood of any other unions coming out in support of them.

The only elective body at Gibraltar is the Chamber of Trade. The Republica Social at Vallencia states that four Socialist workmen have been elected members.

The Austrian Socialist party has just issued a manifesto calling for the adoption of universal suffrage throughout the empire. A large number of this manifesto has been issued.

M. Mauss writes in Le Mouvement Socialiste on the Transvaal war, pointing out how it was caused by capitalists who wished for higher dividends; he also calls attention to the fact that protests have been made by the British Socialists and by the trade unions.

The International Congress of Miners has been holding its annual meeting in Paris. It is reckoned that about 1,200,000 miners were represented. About half of these were English and Scotch. There are about 130,000 in France, 120,000 in Belgium, 250,000 in Germany and 160,000 in Austria.

At the election at Waldenburg, Germany, the Socialist Sachse has been returned. The election is noteworthy, as the Socialist polled more votes than at the previous election and every effort was made to defeat him. It proves, as Vorwaerts says, that the government policy is not as popular as people believe.

In La Revue Socialiste for June, E. Vandervelde, in an article on Socialism and agriculture, shows how in Belgium the small peasant proprietor is becoming extinct. Just as in industry, where the small man is disappearing, so in agriculture the large farm is becoming the rule, as it can be worked much cheaper and better.

Statistics are now published giving the corrected number of votes recorded at the last general election in Italy. The Socialists obtained 215,841 votes; this is a great increase, for in 1897 they only obtained 134,602, and in 1895 only 76,359 votes. The great strength of the party is in the north in Lombardy, Piedmont, Tuscany and Venetia, and their weakest spot is in the south.

On the 24th June a congress of representatives of all the Socialist associations of Holland was held at Amsterdam. The forty-two associations which were represented unanimously voted in favor of a resolution which expressed the determination to unite themselves in one organization. The Socialist Alliance and the Social Democratic Labor party have consequently ceased to exist as separate organizations. In the opinion of Van Kol this unification of the Socialist forces of Holland marks the end of anarchism in that country.



## CAUSE OF SOCIALISM IS DISGRACED IN MASSACHUSETTS

"Unitists," under Bossism of Carey, Have a Machine and Conduct State Convention and Astonish Old-Party Managers

Do you remember the scene in "Pinafore" where the hero stands in the center of the stage and sings his own praises and his high appreciation of himself, while an admiring crowd of relatives fill up the balance of the stage, hang upon his words and cheerfully chorus at every opportunity, "and so do his sisters and his cousins and his aunts?" It is a number of years since I saw the opera, but the scenes of Sunday, July 8, brought it very vividly to my mind.

The third annual convention of the S. D. P. in Massachusetts met at Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, on July 8. State Secretary Margaret Haile called the convention to order and read the call. From that moment the division in the convention asserted itself. Charles E. Lowell of Whitman was nominated for temporary chairman by those who stood for loyalty to the national organization and for the principles of Democracy, and John C. Chase by the others. The vote resulted in a tie (107 on each side), which the secretary took great pleasure in deciding in favor of the loyal candidate, Comrade Lowell. We started out exactly even in numbers, but very unequal in equipment. This was an instance where God was not on the side of the heaviest battalions, but on the side of the latest improved labor-saving machines, which enabled one person to do the work of 107 and permitted of an admirable division of labor. One man made all the motions, and all that the others had to do was to holler for them and to remember their slates for the credentials and other committees, all of which they faithfully did.

A few days before the convention one of the machine men "peached on his pals"; told us all about the cut-and-dried plans, the slates and the final caucus that was to be held Saturday night at a hotel in Boston. He did not tell which hotel, but we have since learned that it was the Davis House. Most of their work, however, had been done, he informed us, by seeing individuals separately.

Knowing this, and knowing also that the loyal delegates were many of them widely scattered branches and had never seen each other, a few of them who had come into town Saturday evening, in order to be on time Sunday morning, put up at the same hotel in order that they might get acquainted and talk over the situation. In self-defense they had to at least know each other's names.

The moment the temporary organization was completed the labor-saving machine was started up and ran steadily until 8:10 p. m.

You will find it hard to believe, comrades in other states, that every motion, aside from nominations, that was made, with two exceptions, was made by one man; but that is the absolute fact.

Carey's first motion was for a committee of five on credentials, to be appointed from the floor. An amendment was made that to save time the common courtesy of permitting the chair to appoint should be granted. Then Carey got up and in a well-feigned righteous indignation charged that a caucus had been held at the Quincy House by the loyalists the night before, talked about slates and capitalistic politics (1) and cramming things down the throat of the convention (1); he thought it was perfectly awful, and "so did his sisters and his cousins and his aunts." McCarthy replied for the loyalists that they had done nothing but what was perfectly fair and honorable, and made counter charges of caucusing and packing the convention. There the matter dropped and the committee was elected from the floor.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that a committee be elected to receive, sort and count the ballots. Chase, Putney and Willett were elected and got to work.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that a committee of five on rules be elected. They were elected: S. L. Smith, Brockton; Dr. Gibbs, Worcester; J. Spero, Boston; Hoffman, Everett; Coulter and Chase.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that all persons nominated constitute the committee on rules.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that the convention adjourn until 1:30.

Promptly at 1:30 Chairman Lowell called the convention to order.

Some comrade forgot himself and made a motion. It was to the effect that the visitors be requested to retire to the gallery, leaving the floor to the delegates. Carey objected, and the motion was withdrawn.

Report of the tellers on credentials was received, the following committee being elected: Hayman of Haverhill; Wilkinson of Lawrence (which is three miles from Haverhill); Clifford of Jamaica Plain branch (which is also very near to Haverhill, through its leading man, D. M. Chase, a brother of John C.); A. W. Barr of Worcester, and Putney of Somerville.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that the committee on credentials take action immediately and collect the credentials.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that while the committee on credentials is preparing its report the committee on rules be allowed to report, the contesting delegations on both sides to be allowed voice and vote.

Smith of Brockton, for the committee on rules, recommended the following program for the remainder of the day:

Report of committee on credentials.

Election of permanent officers of the convention, to consist of chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and two assistants.

Election of committee on resolutions.

Report of same.

Election of state committee.

Appointment of committee to invite S. L. P. delegates to this convention; and a rule limiting speeches to five minutes, no member to speak more than once until all have spoken who wish, the leader of the opposition to be allowed five minutes to close the debate.

Report accepted.

A collection, amounting to \$32.09, was then taken up to cover expenses of the convention.

On the committee on credentials work was done to make the angels weep, and the labor-saving machine rejoice in the depths of its metallic heart. They accepted four delegates from branches which had not been heard from at headquarters in any kind of standing, and is, therefore, not a legal branch; three from a branch which had, before the call was issued, dropped the thirty members whom they represented for non-payment of dues; three others who had been elected at a special meeting called by a man, as chairman, who was not chairman of the branch at all, and so on through the whole list of contests. And they were all seated by the convention, debate having been shut off.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that the report of the committee be accepted as a whole and the delegates seated.

Voted, on motion of Carey, to proceed with the regular order of business as recommended by the committee on rules.

For permanent chairman, John C. Chase of Haverhill and Charles E. Lowell were nominated.

Chase was elected and Lowell was then made vice-chairman.

For permanent secretary the nominees were Margaret Haile, Clifford and Sherman.

Margaret Haile was elected, and it was voted, on motion of Carey, that the other two act as assistants.

Voted, on motion of Carey, to suspend the rules and proceed to the election of a state committee.

Timson of Lynn, Hoffman of Everett and Laird of Brockton were elected tellers.

Again a comrade forgot himself, and moved that the state committee be comprised of eight members elected from this body; and one additional member from each congressional district. Carey promptly amended that we elect a state committee of twelve, to be elected at large, by this convention. The amendment carried.

Twenty-four nominations were made. It was decided to vote by ballot, the twelve highest to be elected.

As soon as the balloting was over and the tellers had retired, it was voted, upon motion of Carey, that the rules be suspended and that a committee of three be appointed to inform the delegates of the S. L. P. that we are now ready to receive them for the purpose of nominating candidates for office, and such other business as may properly come before the body.

The chair appointed Carey, Coulter and Lowell.

In a few moments thirty-eight delegates from the S. L. P. (anti-DeLeon faction) entered the room, headed by a comrade carrying a large red flag, and were received and seated amid applause and cheers.

One of the S. L. P. delegates then moved that this convention indorse Eugene V. Debs for president and a S. D. P. man moved that Job Harriman be indorsed for vice-president. Both motions carried, and "all went merry as a marriage bell."

It was voted, on motion of Carey, that the name under which these candidates stand be the Social Democratic party.

The following state ticket was then nominated, Carey nominating the governor:

For governor—Charles H. Bradley, Haverhill (S. D.).

Lieutenant governor—Geo. H. Wrenn, Springfield (S. L.).

Secretary of state—A. W. Barr, Worcester (S. D.).

Treasurer—Stephen O'Shaughnessy, Boston (S. L.).

Auditor—Frank S. Walsh, Brockton (S. D.).

Attorney general—J. A. Billings, Rockland (S. D.).

Voted, on motion of Carey, that a committee of three be appointed to bring in a list of presidential electors.

While this committee was out, the following platform committee was elected: MacCartney, Putney, Oliver, Mailly, Coulter.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that the question of platform be settled by the platform committee, acting in conjunction with the state committees of the S. L. P. and S. D. P., and whatever they decide upon shall be adopted.

Again a rash comrade made a motion

that a committee on resolutions be now elected. Carey amended that the committee on platform be a committee on resolutions, and that all resolutions be read before this convention without debate and referred to the committee, to be reported back to this meeting tonight. Amendment carried.

Several resolutions were offered, and the committee withdrew to consider them.

Carey then moved that the state committees of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. act jointly. After a brief debate, closed by vociferous calls for the previous question by the machine, the motion was carried, the S. L. P. delegates joining in the vote.

The committee on resolutions recommended the following: "Resolved, that all questions relating to the standing of the party toward national boards, whether the Chicago National Executive Board or the New York 'Unity' Conference Board, be left entirely to the independent action of each branch of the party voting at their several branch meetings; and that we, the S. D. P., without regard to our standing in any executive board, join with the S. L. P. in this convention according to the call of our state committee. That the state committees elected by the S. D. P. and S. L. P. be a joint state committee."

MacCartney brought in a minority report amending the last sentence to read that the two committees "act together as a campaign committee during the coming state and national campaign."

Carey moved the adoption of the majority report. Margaret Haile moved the substitution of the minority report.

And, can you credit it, comrades in other states, this most important resolution of the whole convention was put through without debate! So that you may not lose all respect for the Massachusetts comrades, I ought to explain that it was now about 8 p. m., the delegates had had no supper, and most of them anxious to get off to catch trains. The whole day had been frittered away over trifling routine matters, the convention not being permanently organized until about 6 p. m., and all the important business had to be crowded into an hour or two. The loyal comrades were Social Democrats, and came into the convention expecting it would be carried on with at least a semblance of fairness. It did not take them long to realize that they were up against a labor-saving machine, and they did not know how to deal with it. Seeing its uselessness, many of them gave up the fight, especially as the S. L. P. votes now swelled the majority by thirty-eight. So be lenient with loyalists, comrades.

The previous question was called for, the minority report was put and voted down, though it had generous support. The majority report was put and vociferously carried, the S. L. P. joining in the vote.

The following state committee was declared elected: W. P. Bosworth, W. P. Porter, J. C. Chase, James F. Carey, Addison W. Barr, E. W. Timson, S. E. Putney, M. J. Konikow, A. G. Clifford, A. McDonald, J. W. Sherman and C. E. Lowell.

To sum up the whole proceedings in a word: One man said so; and "so did his sisters and his cousins and his aunts."

MARGARET HAILE,  
Secretary of the Convention.

## NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Wisconsin comrades will hold their state convention the latter part of August.

Branch 23, Wisconsin, elected officers at its meeting July 25. The branch is in excellent working order.

We note with pleasure that a new publication is to be started at Blum, Texas, to be known as the Southern Socialist, and hope its projectors will meet with success.

The National Campaign Committee is printing leaflets for propaganda to be sold at a low price—cost of getting them to you. Read advertisement and order at once.

Prof. Geo. D. Herron is announced for a course of lectures on moral philosophy and applied Christianity next winter at Avalon College, Trenton, Mo., of which George McA. Miller is president.

Comrade Jos. Jason writes us from Cincinnati that a "Young Men's Socialist League" has been organized. The purpose is to work among young men below 25 years of age and it is believed has a grand future.

On Sunday, July 15, Comrade F. J. Hlavacek, editor of Spravednost, organized a club of Bohemian women of the Social Democratic party in the Thirty-first ward of Chicago with nineteen members. He has also organized a new branch of the S. D. P. at Racine, Wis., with eleven members.

### A HALF YEAR'S GROWTH.

The semi-annual report now being prepared by the National Secretary shows that from January 1 to June 30, 1900, the increase in membership of the Social Democratic party was over 3,000, an average of more than 500 per month. From present indications we have reason to believe that this splendid growth will be exceeded during the second half of the year.

## LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

### CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco: holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, 8 p. m. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franc. 700 Madison Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters Hall, cor Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2408 Euclid Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

### COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldenfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

### CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Seidman, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec. Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

### ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nag's Hall, 606 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 1st place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muska's, 40 Spring St. Paul Chlapka, Secretary, 3614 Halib St.

Branch No. 5 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nag's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 9 a. m., at 5002 Line Street. J. A. Amozov, Secretary, 4910 Grand Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 32nd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 632 E. 57th St.

### INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

### IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollcutt, secretary.

### KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 132 Foote ave.

### MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 550 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre st.

### MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 74 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Spring St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Gas. Geisler, Organizer, 55 Somerset St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 8 p. m. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner 2d and Center sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 21 and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

### MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

## NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party was organized last Sunday, July 22, at Chicago. Robert Meiser was elected chairman; Joseph Finn, treasurer, and Seymour Stedman, secretary. The committee held an all-day session, and a great amount of business was transacted. The publication of a series of leaflets for propaganda purposes was decided upon. Subcommittees on finance, literature, press and printing, organization, speakers and meetings were elected.

Committee on Finance—Ed. Zeigler, Joseph Finn and James Wright.

Committee on Literature—A. S. Edwards, F. Svoboda, F. J. Hlavacek, Howard Tuttle, V. L. Berger, Christian Mickelson.

Committee on Press and Printing—Philip Brown, Jacob Winnen, Joseph Kozak.

Committee on Organization—W. C. H. Rgan; James Beattie, F. Svoboda F. W. Rehfeldt, Peter Knickrehm, A. Denison, Fred Brockhuesen, S. Stedman and Aug. Mohr.

Committee on Speakers and Meetings—Seymour Stedman, Oscar Loebel, Philip Brown.

On motion it was decided that all members elected on the various subcommittees be made members of the general committee.

The next meeting of the general committee will be held Aug. 19.

### TO IOWA SOCIALISTS

The Western Passenger Association has granted a rate of one and one-third fare to our state convention providing 100 delegates attend. Let our immediate efforts be toward making this convention a great success. I feel sure that we can secure an attendance of that number. In addition to the convention speakers, Comrade Debs will be present and deliver his lecture in the evening. A. W. RICKER.

### MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

### MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

### MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 11 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

### NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1204 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Bartley, Secretary, 1 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays, at 8 p. m., at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

### NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. cars of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clifton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 103 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Harry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 128 W. 9th St. Elisabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Committee on organization to be organized should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. "Public invited." Organizer, Joseph Williams, 36 Henry st.

### OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 56 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 56 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Kuehnen Hall, 1000 Corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone invited. Socialists in 244 E. C. Schaw, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1113 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Print St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Thomas May, Jr. Secretary, 820 S. 3rd St.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at E. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansaff St.

Branch No. 1, Pittsburg, meets 2nd and last Wednesday evening, at 7:30 p. m., at Funk Hall, S. 4th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, in Ohlsen's Hall, 56 York St. Secretary, 233 Jane St.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in E. of L. Hall. Chas. Knappe, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codrington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at S. O. P. Club Rooms, at 423 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gille, 109 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 16 East 34 St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

### WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 413 11th Street.

### WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1,



## A SUMMARY OF MARX'S NOTED CRITICISMS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

By A. P. Hazzell

Marx's early training was very favorable to the study of economics. He had a very superior education, as well as the advantage of moving in an intellectual circle where every topic was brought to the bar of reason and severely tested. In early life he mixed with the Hegelians, who at that time represented the forward movement in social questions and intellectual thought. Political economy was always a favorite subject with Marx, and when the labor upheavals prior to and including 1848 in Germany and on the continent generally enlisted his sympathies he soon found that the bourgeois economists were drawn upon to head back the forward movement. He, therefore, determined at the first opportunity to give his serious attention to the subject of economics with the object of exposing the fallacies of the so-called great classic authorities.

Marx applied what is known as the historical method to the study of economics, and in this connection his name has become associated with the theory known as the "materialist conception of history," which shows that wealth production controls the action of men unknown to themselves. This presentation of the subject by Marx is well illustrated by a Russian critic and reviewer named N. Tschernyschewsky, who wrote at the time of publication of Marx's work:

"The one thing which is of moment to Marx is to find the law of the phenomena with whose investigation he is concerned."

Of still greater moment to him is the law of their variation from one form into another; from one series of connections into a different one. . . . Consequently Marx only troubles himself about one thing, to show by a rigid scientific investigation, the necessity of successive determinate orders of social conditions, and to establish as far as possible the facts that serve him for fundamental starting points. For this it is quite enough if he proves, at the same time, both the necessity of the present order of things, and the necessity of another order into which the first must inevitably pass over; and this all the same whether men believe it or not, whether they are conscious or unconscious of it. Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of human will, consciousness and intelligence; but rather, on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence. . . . That is to say, not the 'idea' but the material phenomenon alone can serve as its starting point. Such an inquiry will confine itself to the confrontation and the comparison of a fact, not with ideas, but with another fact."

According to this author, Marx deals only with facts coupled with an anxious desire to explain them to his readers. It is now our task to try and give briefly a sketch of those facts as contained in his analysis of capitalist production.

Marx first of all inquires what is the form of wealth with which capitalism surrounds us today. He answers: The commodity form of wealth. A commodity can, therefore, be accepted as the unit of capitalist wealth. He then analyzes that commodity; a commodity is an object of wealth, and an object of wealth is a thing of utility. That thing which administers to man's desires is an object of utility, and by that fact becomes wealth, and when labor has been further expended on that object for the purpose of exchange, then it becomes known as a "commodity."

When such labor products are brought into exchange their value becomes expressed by the act of exchange. Marx then examines value, use-value and exchange-value. Value is a relation, or comparison which we make between things. Like all other comparisons, it is necessarily one of quantity. To say what is the value of a thing is equal to saying, "What is the quantity of a particular substance contained in your article as compared with mine?" Value is thus an equation of two quantities. When we come to commodities brought into exchange we have to discover the substance of their exchange value. There are two substances favored by economists—utility and labor. Marx, while demonstrating that utility is the substance of wealth and of use-value, denies that it is the substance of exchange-value. Exchange-value presupposes an equation which precludes utility from acting as its substance. The substance of value is already contained in commodities; it is therefore objective, and has only to be measured to have its quantity expressed. Utility is of a subjective character depending on the desires of a person, and cannot be measured objectively by a person. The utility of a pair of boots cannot be expressed until you have experienced it by wearing them, but their exchange-value is expressed when you purchase them. Utility being thus unable to find relative expression at the point of exchange cannot be the exchange value-giving substance.

Marx then asserts that labor is contained in all commodities, and that with-

out it social wealth would cease to be. Labor, being embodied in commodities, is objective, and can be quantitatively measured by time similarly as two bodies containing weight can be measured by the gravitative force.

The substance of exchange-value is, therefore, labor or human energy. Marx then shows that there are different forms or qualities of labor, such as carpentering labor, shoemaking labor and tailoring labor; these, though so different in character, all represent energy or labor, and it is in this character of simple energy alone that they impart value to a commodity. A commodity is valuable only in so far as it contains a given quantity of labor.

Marx then deals with exchange, showing that it presupposes private property, the mere fact of exchange proving that buyer and seller recognize that each has a right to part with his product as owner of his product.

Returning to commodities and their value, Marx shows that exchange necessitates a money form of value. In an act of barter or sale we measure the value of our commodity in that one we exchange with, recognizing it as our equivalent. For the purpose of reckoning, the commodity which is most frequently exchanged becomes generally recognized, and accepted as an equivalent at all times. Eventually, in agreement with public opinion, the state declares such an equivalent legal tender in discharge of debt, and thus we have money arising out of the equivalent form of value. Money creates a new social power, for he who has it has a purchasing power over all other commodities. It is of such social use that the loan of it secures interest. It also facilitates accumulation and enables its possessor to enter into production of other commodities. Money applied to production for the purpose of securing profit or interest, becomes capital. Money-capital in the hands of the capitalist begets more money, which increase of money Marx calls surplus-value. Money being nothing more than an equivalent commodity, cannot, like all other material objects of wealth, impart more than its own value, so Marx investigates the productive process of the capitalist to find how the latter gains his increase.

Marx goes on to show that a capitalist divides his capital into two portions—the part which purchases the instruments of production, raw material, etc.; and the other part which he pays as wages. The first he calls "constant" capital, because the value it imparts admits of no expansion beyond its own cost of production; the other part, which is expended in purchasing labor-power, he calls "variable," because the value labor-power imparts into a product varies from its own cost. If the cost of a machine is \$100, and lasts a year, it will embody that amount of value and that amount alone in raw material, such value being its cost of production. A laborer, however, costing \$100 a year, will not only pass over his own cost of production, as represented by his wages, but considerably more. When a worker produces more value than his wages represent he produces surplus-value. Surplus value is thus a term to express that portion of value for which no equivalent is given. Out of this surplus value the capitalist adds to his capital and obtains his private income, and thus the worker himself creates the chains which economically bind him to the capitalist.

(To be continued.)

### APPEAL TO WAGE-WORKERS

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor has issued an appeal to all wage-workers to organize and federate. It says:

"Throughout our country a struggle is raging between the oppressor and the oppressed, the possessors of wealth and the laborers; the concentration of industry and wealth is the order of the day. Everywhere the workers must suffer disastrous results unless they organize and federate to protect and promote their mutual interests.

"In this combination and concentration of wealth the possessors permit no sectional or state lines to interfere with their power, and it therefore behooves the toilers, the wealth producers, to unite and federate regardless whether they are located east, west, north or south; irrespective of sex, politics, color or religion. The hope of the workers, the prayer of all our people, for justice and right, and the perpetuation of republican institutions lies in organized labor.

"Recognizing these essential truths, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor appeals to all wage-workers of whatever trade or calling to organize unions where such do not exist to join those already organized, to form unions and international unions of their respective trades and callings, and to affiliate in one common bond of labor upon the broad platform and under the proud banner of the American Federation of Labor.

"In calling upon the workers to unite and federate we aim to do no one wrong, but establish justice for all."

Workers should organize economically to alleviate their conditions and strike at the polls for freedom. There is no other way. Organize for Socialism and vote for it.

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## REVIEW AND EXPOSURE OF CAPITALIST WAGE SYSTEM

(Concluded from First Page)

money in the hands of Peter, \$100 in dyed fabrics in the hands of James and \$80 in money in the hands of Paul, making a total of \$300. The value in circulation has not grown a single penny; there is simply a change in its distribution among Peter, Paul and James; it is just as if Peter had stolen \$40. A change in the distribution of the value in circulation, does not increase their quantity.

No matter what point of view one takes, by the process of exchange the articles exchanged, viewed as a whole, are not altered, there is no formation of surplus value if equivalent values are exchanged, and, if unequal values are exchanged, as in the former case, there is no surplus value formed. As the quantity of values thrown into circulation can not increase there, we must seek outside the realm of circulation or of the exchange of the commodities, for cause of the appearance of surplus value, of a new value.

Hence we reach this conclusion: All those trickeries must be disregarded which result merely in transferring wealth from pocket to pocket without increasing the sum total of the value in circulation. Yet the owner of the money, who begins by buying certain commodities for exactly what they are worth, and afterwards sell them again at their exact value, is able to realize more money for them than he risked in their purchase. As this increase can not take place either when the capitalist buys the elements of production, or when he sells the products, it is necessarily effected in the period of production.

In this period, the capitalist makes use of the things and the persons he has bought in order to produce. When he has made these purchases, he has in his possession the aggregate of the muscular and intellectual powers with which man is endowed and which he brings into action when he wishes to produce useful things. As labor power is a faculty of the living individual, the essential condition of its continuance is that the individual maintain and reproduce himself. The latter, for his support and reproduction, requires a certain quantity of the means of subsistence, and it is the quantity of the means of subsistence required, in a given country and period, to enable the laborer to permanently maintain a power equipped with the necessary technical skill and knowledge which determines the value of that power.

Suppose that the daily value of labor power is 80 cents, and that at the end of five hours' work the laborer had added to the value representing material worked up and the wear and tear of the implements employed a new value of 80 cents. If the labor stopped there, the capitalist would have a value equal to that which he had disbursed; he would in truth pay the value of the labor performed; he would lose nothing, but he would gain nothing. Now, gain is the goal at which he aims; he wishes his money to increase, to bring forth more money.

The capitalist has for the 80 cents, the daily value of the labor power, bought the use of that power for one day. The use of it belongs to him during one day, and he continues to keep it at work after it has at the end of five hours, as we have assumed, reproduced a value equivalent to its own. Labor power can then, in a day produce more than it costs, and it is the prolongation of labor beyond the fraction of a day that suffices to produce the equivalent of wages which alone can be the source of surplus value.

Labor continued after the equivalent of wages is produced is what begets the excess of value of the object over that of its constituent elements, means of production and labor power.

The production of surplus value is, consequently, nothing more than the action of labor prolonged beyond the point where the wages are replaced by equivalent value. The quantity of labor which the worker furnishes after having produced a value equal to his wages is surplus labor.

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## THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this generation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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